65TH CONGRESS 3d Session

SENATE

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PAUL O. HUSTING

(Late a Senator from Wisconsin)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Proceedings in the Senate March 2, 1919 Proceedings in the House February 23, 1919

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WASHINGTON 1919

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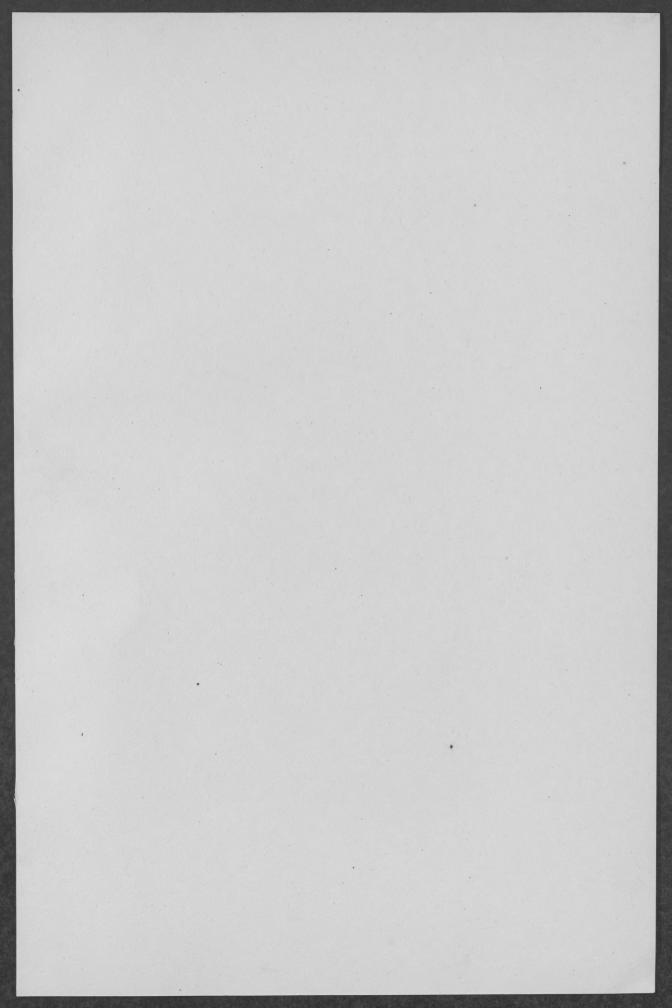
WASHINGTON

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page.
Proceedings in the Senate	5
Memorial addresses by—	
Mr. Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin	9
Mr. Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas	16
Mr. James Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois	20
Mr. Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana	25
Mr. Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona	27
Mr. Asle J. Gronna, of North Dakota	30
Mr. Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado	33
Mr. Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin	36
Proceedings in the House	39
Prayer by Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D.	40
Memorial addresses by—	
Mr. Edward Voigt, of Wisconsin	43
Mr. John J. Esch, of Wisconsin	51
Mr. Edward E. Browne, of Wisconsin	55
Funeral eulogy by Judge Martin L. Lueck, of Wisconsin_	46

TABLE OF CONTRIVES

	Proceedings in the Senated Land Land Land Land Land Land Land Lan
	Memorial addresses by-
10	Mr. Robert M. La Pollette, of Wisconsin
	Mr. Jomes Hamilton Lewis, of Hilmois.
	Mr. Henry E. Asburst, of Arizona
. 1	
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HON PAUL O HUSTING

DEATH OF HON, PAUL O. HUSTING

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

Monday, December 3, 1917.

Mr. La Follette. Mr. President, with great personal sorrow, shared, I am certain, by the Members of this body, it becomes my sad duty to formally announce the death of my late colleague, Senator Paul O. Husting. He died in Wisconsin under tragic circumstances, without precedent and parallel, I believe, in the history of this body.

The present time and occasion do not admit of a suitable testimonial to my late colleague, but hereafter and during the present session I shall ask the Senate to set apart a day when appropriate tribute may be paid to his memory.

Mr. President, I send the following resolutions to the desk and ask for their adoption.

The Vice President. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions (S. Res. 155) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. La Follette. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to Senator Husting's memory I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 4, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

FRIDAY, February 7, 1919.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I give notice that at the proper time I shall move for a session of the Senate on Sunday, the 23d of February, to be devoted to memorial exercises for the late Senator Husting and the late Representative Davidson, of Wisconsin.

Saturday, February 22, 1919.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE: Mr. President, I understand that it is probable that there will be a very late session of the Senate to-night, and at the request of a number of Senators who expected to take part in the memorial exercises which it had been planned to hold to-morrow in commemoration of the life, character, and services of the late Senator Husting and of the late Representative Davidson, both of Wisconsin, I want to ask unanimous consent that the Senate hold a session beginning at 1 o'clock on the 2d of March to be devoted to the exercises that were expected to have been held to-morrow. I do this, I repeat, at the request of a number of Senators who had expected to take part in the exercises to-morrow. I have conferred with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Martin] respecting the matter and also with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Swanson], who was present and who rather approved of that action.

The Presiding Officer. The Senator from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the Senate convene on Sunday, March 2, for the purpose of holding memorial ceremonies in connection with the lives and services of the late Senator Husting, of Wisconsin, and the late Repre-

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

sentative Davidson, of that State, in lieu of the arrangement heretofore effective for to-morrow. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SUNDAY, March 2, 1919.

(Legislative day of Saturday, March 1, 1919.)

The Senate met at 1 o'clock p. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 482) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate assembles as a mark of respect to the memory of Hon. Paul O. Husting, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin, in pursuance of an order heretofore made, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Senate again expresses its profound sorrow at the death of the late Senator from Wisconsin.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

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Resulted That the Secretary transmit a copy of these revolutions to the House of Representatives and to the family of the deceased.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. LA FOLLETTE, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President: Paul O. Husting was born in the city of Fond du Lac, Wis., April 25, 1866. His father, John P. Husting, a native of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, emigrated to the United States in 1855. It has been my privilege to know the father of my late colleague and friend, Senator Husting. He is a man of rare character and exceptional refinement, a skilled watchmaker, who brought with him from his fatherland a love of music and art and a ready command of several languages.

The mother of Senator Husting is a woman of that native power and marked individuality so typical of our strong pioneer stock. She is the daughter of Solomon Juneau, who in 1818 founded the city of Milwaukee. A foolish pride in ancestry is a weakness. A just pride in ancestry may inspire a worthy ambition in one to render a high service to his generation and to posterity. I venture to dwell for a moment upon this branch of the ancestry of the late Senator Husting.

Solomon Juneau was the first white man who located on the present site of Milwaukee, where as the representative of the American Fur Co. he established a trading post. He built there the first log house in 1822, and two years later the first frame dwelling erected in Milwaukee. In 1835 he was appointed the first postmaster, and in 1846 he was chosen as the first mayor of Milwaukee. He died in 1856. He was at one time a man of great wealth and owned a large portion of the land on which was finally built the metropolis of Wisconsin.

Solomon Juneau was of pure French or Alsatian ancestry, and was an honest, upright, forceful man, the trusted friend and counselor of the great body of Indians then living in the Territory of Wisconsin.

The author of the Pioneer History of Milwaukee says of Juneau:

He •was, without exception, the finest looking specimen of his race that I have ever seen. In height over 6 feet, large of frame, and straight as an arrow.

On an eminence in Juneau Park, overlooking the city of Milwaukee, and facing the sun as it rises over Lake Michigan, stands the commanding bronze statue of Solomon Juneau, the grandfather of Senator Husting.

The wife of Solomon Juneau, the grandmother of our deceased colleague, was of French and Indian blood. She was the grandniece of La Farrinee, the old Menomonie king. She was a woman of striking presence and high courage. On more than one occasion it is recorded that she saved the lives of the first settlers of that section, who would otherwise have fallen victims to Indian vengeance.

From his ancestry upon both sides Senator Paul O. Husting inherited a fine nature, sterling integrity of character, and a rugged, intrepid courage that would make no compromise with defeat.

The large estate which his mother would have inherited was swept away before her father's death.

The boy Paul received a common-school education, and at the age of 17 challenged his fortune single handed and alone.

He resolved to become a lawyer. His people had no means to advance his ambition. He had but the meager education that one could acquire in the district school. And yet that boy had in him the worthy purpose, the grim determination to cross swords with fate, and fight his way to a high place among his fellow men.

Mr. President, with a father of pleasing address; with a grandfather on the maternal side who, the author of the Pioneer History of Milwaukee says, was the finest specimen of manhood he had ever seen in his life; with a grandmother, the wife of Solomon Juneau, a woman of commanding and queenly appearance, it was one of the curious tricks of fate that our late colleague, who was endowed with a fine nature, a keen appreciation of art, music, and the best literature, and a vigorous mind, was so handicapped physically that he was at no inconsiderable disadvantage as a speaker. And yet so resolute was his purpose, so deep and sincere were his convictions, so direct and forceful his mentality, that he became an effective and powerful debater and public speaker.

He was industrious and frugal. He clerked in a general store. He passed the required examination and entered the Postal Service as a railway mail clerk. Is it to be wondered at, let me say to Senators, that this man all through his political life was found fighting on the side of the great masses of the people, with a keenly sensitive interest in the hard struggles of the worker?

Later he secured the position of assistant bookkeeper in the office of the secretary of state of Wisconsin. All the while his eye was on the position to which he aspired. He was climbing higher and higher. He had to get his legal education; he had no means with which to support himself while he did it. He had to hew his way through all of the obstacles that lay ahead of him; but he never swerved from that fixed purpose which had taken possession of his mind as a boy.

An interesting story is told of young Husting's application for a clerical position in the capitol at Madison. The rugged, big-shouldered, sturdy boy courageously sought a personal interview with the governor, George W. Peck. In his plain, homely, direct way, he said: "Governor

Peck, I want a job, and I want to work and earn my salary. But I want a job where the hours of service can be so arranged as to enable me to attend the lectures at the university law school." He at once enlisted the interest of the warm-hearted governor and was appointed to a position in the office of the secretary of state.

At last the way was opened for him to achieve his cherished ambition, and he entered the law school of the University of Wisconsin. In 1895 he passed the State bar examination and immediately began the practice of his profession at Mayville, Wis. He soon became known throughout his county as a safe counselor and successful trial lawyer. In 1902 he was elected district attorney of Dodge County and reelected in 1904.

During the period in which young Husting was winning his way as a lawyer in Dodge County events were transpiring in the State which had an important bearing upon his career.

A political contest of profound significance came on in Wisconsin early in the nineties and continued for many years. It produced a deep and lasting impression on the life of the Commonwealth and exerted a marked influence in many other States. It was a struggle for progressive democracy, democracy that is always advancing and that never halts; it was a determined effort, as it was first put forth in the State, to bring the Government back to the people. It appealed strongly to Mr. Husting, who became active with the more progressive element of the Democratic Party, and was finally elected from Dodge County to the Wisconsin State senate in 1906.

At that time the Democratic Party was controlled by the reactionary element of that organization. But under the leadership of this self-made man and the others who worked with him the Democratic Party of Wisconsin became a progressive political party. The great body of the progressive laws of Wisconsin had been enacted before Mr. Husting entered the State senate. But he at once became prominent in the senate as the leading progressive Democrat, and was especially active in working for legislation to protect the natural resources of the State, and to carry forward step by step in an intelligent way legislation to advance and improve industrial and social conditions.

His leadership as a progressive Democrat made him the most available candidate of his party for the United States Senate in 1914. His great personal strength with the people generally who had confidence in his high purpose to serve public interest brought him such support among independent voters that he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Hon. Isaac Stephenson for the term of office ending March 4, 1921.

The election of Senator Husting to the United States Senate from a strong Republican State testifies to the respect and the trust which the people of that Commonwealth reposed in the man. He had served but eight years in the State senate, but that brief period had sufficed to make him known everywhere as a man of sterling integrity, a close student of public affairs, an able debater, and a conscientious legislator keenly alert and active at all times in the public interest.

As a Member of the United States Senate, as in the legislature of his native State, he impressed his colleagues with his industry, his courage, and devotion to his convictions at any cost or sacrifice.

In this body he stood squarely with the little band of progressive Senators who sought to secure a just system of taxation to support the war, voting independently on every single amendment that was offered here to increase the taxes upon wealth. Those amendments were voted down; but, pressing on and on, he supported by speech

and vote one after another of those amendments, because they were in accord with his convictions. That was the spirit of the man. Upon all economic issues uninfluenced by politics Senator Husting was absolutely independent as a legislator.

Senator Husting was a free and ready speaker, an aggressive, able debater. In the fight on the water-power bill and on the coal and oil bill he at once gained recognition as a fearless antagonist who was undaunted by the overwhelming odds but fought on and on to the very end for his convictions.

Senator Husting found himself in a peculiar position when the resolution declaring war was presented to this body. He lived in Dodge County, Wis., a county where the local and surrounding influences were against our entering into the war. There again came out the high qualities of the man's character. He knew that he had to sacrifice personal friendships; he knew that he would alienate the affections of neighbors; but he followed the course where his conscience pointed the way.

Mr. President, I did not agree with Senator Husting as to the necessity of our engaging in the European war. But, sir, I recognized his right to hold and express his opinions at all times and under all circumstances upon that as upon every other question, and I respected the sturdy and courageous way in which he asserted and maintained those opinions. Nothing could better attest the soundness of his conception of true democracy than the spirit of tolerance which he manifested during that period that sorely tried men whose convictions were in sharp conflict. He accorded to those who did not agree with him the same right to a free expression of opinion which he claimed for himself. He knew that you can have no real democracy where that right is denied.

Senator Husting's tragic death was a great shock to the Senate and to the country.

When the Congress adjourned October 6, 1917, he went directly to his home in Wisconsin to find recreation in the one form which had appealed to him most strongly from boyhood.

The call of the wild was in his blood. It was a part of his inheritance. He loved the forests, the streams, the thousand lakes of his native State. He was an expert woodsman, a trained hunter. Whenever freed from his professional duties and the work imposed upon him by public life he always sought recreation in the wilds of northern Wisconsin.

And so on this occasion after a brief visit with his aged parents and the other loved ones of the family, with guns and dogs and boat, he sought his heart's desire on one of his favorite hunting excursions. He was accompanied by a younger brother whom PAUL had trained to the skillful use of the gun.

Then, without warning, the end came. It fell to his fate to go down under an accidental shot fired by his brother.

The story of the next few hours is harrowing in the extreme. Wounded unto death, it was hours before medical assistance could be secured. But Senator Husting knew from the first that death was at hand. With marvelous control he gave directions as to his business affairs, his first care being for those dependent upon him. And then he turned to meet the grim messenger with that same intrepid spirit that had marked his whole life.

I attended, as did many of the Members of the Senate and House, the funeral services at the Husting home in Mayville. Thousands of his friends were present from all parts of the State, expressing by their presence the high esteem and tender regard of the entire Commonwealth.

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Address of Mr. Robinson, of Arkansas

Mr. President: There is an oriental maxim as old as the earliest literature: "Earnestness is the path of immortality." The truth underlying this declaration is evidenced by history. No man of questionable sincerity ever ascended to great and abiding renown. The gigantic figures of history, those which tower above the level of mediocrity and stand as sentinels along the avenues of human progress, have all demonstrated earnestness in thought, purpose, and action. Wit and humor have their necessary and proper places in literature and speech. They afford relief from austerity and relaxation from anxiety, but neither furnishes a secure foundation for permanent fame. Only they who devote themselves seriously to the important problems of life are remembered with admiration by the generations following them.

THE KEYNOTE TO MR. HUSTING'S CHARACTER

Will not all who knew Mr. Husting intimately agree that earnestness was the keynote to his character and labors? As a Senator he went about the public business with a realization of the importance of his duties and responsibilities. Yet he was prompted by no exaggerated conception of his own capacity or obligations. He constantly kept in mind the gravity and dignity of his position. This characteristic made him a great legislator in spite of defects calculated to render him unattractive in appearance and unimpressive in utterance.

A MAN OF STRONG CONVICTIONS

Mr. Husting was a man of strong convictions. He possessed great will power. In consequence, he formed decisive opinions on every public issue properly arising for

his consideration. He never hesitated, rarely remained long in doubt as to the course to pursue, and universally took a bold and emphatic stand on public questions.

Former Speaker Cannon once said: "All important legislation is the result of compromise." Experience in Congress demonstrates that this is nearly true. It is rare, indeed, that the laws we pass reflect clear-cut victories for either contention in bitterly contested cases. There have, of course, been instances, many of them, no doubt, which constitute exceptions to the rule. Nevertheless legislation usually reflects a compromise.

Senator Husting never compromised. He fought every legislative battle to a finish, enjoyed victory with moderation, and endured defeat with resignation. An analysis of the legislative history of the United States will demonstrate the overwhelming importance, the real greatness of this attribute of character so generally, if not universally, demonstrated in the public services of Mr. Husting. His speeches possessed a peculiar quality. They rarely thrilled and frequently sounded laborious, yet almost always held attention and usually convinced. It would be difficult to describe the power of his utterances or to explain fully the reason for it. The secret of his effectiveness as a speaker depended upon two things: First, he never spoke save on important subjects, and second, he had always clearly in mind the important and logical points of argument to be stated, so that, in spite of awkwardness in manner and impediments in speech, his addresses furnished information and carried conviction.

During his service in the Senate he never took the floor on a trivial or unimportant subject. Only the big issues claimed his attention. He never minimized their importance by frivolous discussions.

Perhaps there remains another quality to be mentioned accountable in part for the undoubted influence which

Mr. Husting quickly acquired in the Senate. In every speech and act he demonstrated loyalty to what he believed to be the public interest. Selfish interests often subconsciously influence public men. Senator Husting was as free from recognition of them in his public acts as any man I have ever known. The old, unwritten rule of the Senate that new Members should preserve dignified silence of late years has been frequently disregarded. It seems destined to become a mere tradition. Senator Husting quickly became a factor in the deliberations of this body. His previous experience in legislation and his service in the State senate of Wisconsin familiarized him with legislative procedure and relieved him from the embarrassments under which inexperienced Senators labor.

Mr. Husting took the progressive view of public questions. He believed in and advocated the conservation of our natural resources with a forcefulness which lastingly impressed his colleagues. In political faith he was devoted to the Democratic Party. He always took advanced ground and received his inspiration from prospects rather than from precedents.

MR. HUSTING AND THE WAR

He was a party man and constantly supported the administration both in its policies and measures. From the beginning of the great war through which the world has recently passed he was proally and anti-German. Perhaps birth and racial instincts were responsible in part for his emphatic opposition to German propaganda. His colleagues will recall the frankness and fearlessness with which he exposed the efforts of Germany to unfairly secure sympathy and support for her cause by the publication in this country of false statements and by secret machinations. He was of Alsatian descent. Anyone who

knew him and who understood his principles and nature would have expected him to aggressively champion at the first opportunity the cause which many here were slow to appreciate—the cause of the allies. His militant nature gave prompt and vigorous support to every step by which our Government advanced to war and to victory.

Mr. Husting's death was a distinct loss to the Senate and to the Nation. Few men who have served in the Senate during the present generation have more quickly earned recognition for serious-mindedness and devotion to duty than Paul Husting. Before death called him he had become, notwithstanding his brief service, a leader among us. We respected his ability and admired his courage.

Address of Mr. Lewis, of Illinois

Mr. President: I did not know the eminent Senator who has just been eulogized in such fitting terms by the distinguished senior Senator from his State [Mr. La Follette] until the junior Senator, Mr. Husting, came into this body as a Member. It fell to my lot, sir, to have such confidence of him as a trusted fellow Member might have; my seat was near him; I was frequently communicated with by him as to matters that touched his personal interests as an official here in the Senate. In that manner I learned to know some of those characteristics as they unfolded themselves in the man and which the Senator-colleague, Mr. La Follette, has detailed.

We have to-day heard from the senior Senator the first detailed history of the early struggles and career of this man whose career in this body so won our admiration. My mind reverts to fitting lines, which recite—

How truly that our lives
Are as but the twinkle of a star
In God's eternal day.
Obscured and dimmed by mortal clouds,
Yet may shine bright for Him,
And, though darkened here, shine fair
To spheres afar.
So let's be patient, lest we bar
His grace and goodness,
And we fall supine;
In our hands our weaknesses are,
Our strength, oh God, in Thine.

Where could we have had an exemplification of that more exquisitely proven than in the detailed account of this young man's life, as given us in the depiction of the Senator?

Mr. President, I was first attracted to what is called his courage. I live near the border of Wisconsin. I am one of the representatives in this body of the State of Illinois. It neighbors upon the splendid Commonwealth which has been described by the Senator from that State. I knew much, sir, of its inhabitants, of the political weight and preponderance of nationality of its people; and I was attracted to that independent courage on the part of Senator HUSTING when he faced and braved what must have been the political fate of any man had things not gone as they did. It was apparent to everyone that he was careless, whatever might be the fortune to himself. He must first consider his duty as he saw it to his country. Sir, all this facinated me as I beheld in him that element of utter lack of all selfishness and the presence of that warm impulse of true patriotism and influence within of that quality of the man which sought all about him to do that thing which he felt was right before God and man without regard to the consequences to his private fortunes or political destiny. From this unfolding I watched his career develop in this body in greatness of statesmanship. All was first demonstrated morning after morning when we saw by multiplied thousands and thousands these telegrams coming into the body seeking to intimidate as well as persuade Members to a certain course of official conduct on the self-defense of America. It appeared that the attempt was by their numerical strength and great preponderating majority, in order to frighten toward one political course or obstruct them from going in another. Then this man from a country where he might indeed have paused to consider the consequences, sir, struck them full and fair in the face, all with a defiance that was magnificent to behold, a courage beautiful to witness, and a manhood too seldom seen. We saw him exemplify the patriot and the statesman; and we there realized, after all,

sir, that if, as the distinguished Senator said, he had been for a long time in an obscure existence and unknown in his merits he showed us how truly, in the line of that poet's couplet—

> Full many a gem of purest ray serene The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear.

Mr. President, it fell to me, sir, after the death or Senator Husting to be in Wisconsin upon an errand that justified my going from county to county through that State. I heard the comments of those who had known him from his boyhood. I listened to the praise that fell to him for his career in the State legislature. I heard them speak tenderly of his poverty, and yet, as against it all, how he resisted any opportunity that could have enriched him and would have aided some personal fortune to him. Despite all its temptations, he preferred his way, a rocky path, but in the light; and then I knew why it was that confidence was so reposed in him that everywhere one went he met the single verdict, "He was an honest official, a true friend, a worthy citizen of his State." I was proud, sir, to hear that regard of those who were close to him.

Ordinarily, as you know, those who are close to us seldom see us. It is only those who view us in the perspective who see us correctly. Intimacies breed either exaggerations in our praise on the one hand or great injustices of criticisms on the other. Seldom do we see where one thrown so closely with his own neighbors could have been so justly measured, so fairly appraised, and upon whom so true a judgment could have been pronounced.

In this body, sir, his inclination along certain lines disclosed him particularly fitted in those things that protected his people against the ravages of institutions that combine too frequently to pillage public communities in the name of public welfare. He was not deceived in the efforts to seize the power of the different States in the form of water conservation and convert it to private welfare, that it might enrich the pockets of those who were as deficient in patriotism as they were wanting in honesty; and, indeed, sir, we caught the other glimpse of that long career on the part of this young gentleman, up to the later days of his life, in behalf of the thing he felt right toward his neighbor and to his fellow man. It was these, sir, that drew me to him; these, sir, that gained to him my confidence, and I trust, in part, contributed some of the reasons of his confidence in me.

He passed away at that sudden moment described by the Senators. It was when in his holiday, when he had gone to the woods, where he could worship in the temple of nature, amidst the angels of her flowers, amidst the giants of her trees, he fell, in sudden shock, at the hand of his own brother.

What a tragic suggestion that brings to us! We are inclined, Mr. President, to feel such to be a great and indescribable catastrophe; and yet I wonder, sir, if we can not indulge this thought: That nature has her way of paying her debt to her children and of attracting attention to the event that shows the tribute paid. When you have seen the sunlight upon a mountain peak, sir, your eyes are drawn to it in the glow and glory of all its beauty and we break into rapture of praise; but when the evening comes, sir, and the solemn shades befall it, we seldom turn to note it again. It is wrapped in gloom. It is dark and lost to view. Sir, the sun and radiance of the highest touch of his career fell upon him, and just as it glowed upon him with a radiance that a star lights a promontory he was stricken, and from this high moment passed on, but left to his people the reflection of all that he meant to thema life of light that leads and duty performed that ennobled.

Sir, I do not know if he professed any creed or religion; but as I watched his course here, and heard it spoken of in the land where they knew him best, my mind reverts to the legend which justly embalms Paul Husting.

You remember that Sir John Lubbock leaves us what he calls his celestial dream. He dreamed he had died, and he was at the gates of heaven when Peter, the gatekeeper, summoned a vigil to investigate the applicant for entrance. The sentinel asked, "Who are you?" He said: "I am John Lubbock." "And what brings you here? What is your religion and your church?" "I have no church. I have tried to do my duty to men. I have given bread to the hungry; I have given water to the thirsty; I have lifted the fallen; I have listened to a widow's wail, and heard the cry of a child and hushed both by my service." "Ah, yes," says the vigil, "well, and you have no church "-and Lubbock looked beyond, and there beneath the gleaming cross sat the sainted Catholic, and by the crystal fount was the Baptist, and where the celestial choir was singing was the Methodist; and the sentinel said, "Which of these do you choose?" And he said, "I am of neither house"; when the Master, hearing this, came out and said: "Ah, Sir John, we have up here heard much of you. Come you in, sir, and sit down wherever you please."

To such a man as this man, PAUL HUSTING, let us believe, the great Master's voice at last said: "Come in, and, by the merits of the life you lived, sit you down wherever you please."

ADDRESS OF MR. WALSH, OF MONTANA

Mr. President: Owing to the accident of my birth in the State of which the late Senator Husting was likewise a native, and which he was chosen in part to represent in this body, an intimacy quite close sprang up between us very speedily after his entry upon the discharge of his official duties here. Nature had not been partial to him either in respect to his physical make-up or his vocal equipment. I have often had occasion to note, Mr. President, what advantage accrues to a man in public discussion who has a commanding stature, a well-proportioned frame, a sonorous and mellifluous voice.

Senator Husting had no such meretricious aids. The impression he made on his first appearance was distinctly disappointing, but he very speedily dispelled any idea that he did not measure up fully intellectually to the requirements of the high office to which he had been called, and before his tragic and lamentable death he had established a reputation among his colleagues and through the country for industry and intelligence, for courage and sagacity.

Some men are gifted with a pleasing personality, facility in graceful speech, through the aid of which they quickly ingratiate themselves with strangers. Those whose talents and attainments are solid rather than showy are ordinarily compelled to travel a longer road to popular favor. The career of Senator Husting in this body was brief, and it could scarcely be said that it was brilliant, and yet, Mr. President, brief as it was, his sterling worth came to be so generally recognized that not a few Senators went to him for counsel as to how to vote when suddenly summoned to the Chamber from their

work upon committees or from other duties which had prevented them from following the course of the proceedings or attending to the merits of the debate.

He never permitted his judgment upon any measure to be influenced by considerations of personal friendship for its supporters, and he never yielded to importunities, however strong they might be, that did not wholly convince him of the error of his position.

He has an item of service to his credit that has richly earned for him the gratitude of his country. His sagacious mind enabled him to perceive that what was generally accepted as a more or less spontaneous expression of popular opinion—the outgrowth of the humanitarian impulses and peace-loving disposition of our people—was, in fact, a corrupt and sinister propaganda through which Germany attempted to wheedle America into inaction while she overwhelmed Europe and subverted the liberties of the world. With a courage and relentlessness which shall remain as one of the proud traditions of the Senate, and with a fullness of detail and an amplitude of proof that dispelled doubt and defied denial, he exposed to public view the ugly hydra-headed thing that sickened and died when brought to the light of day.

By common consent his speech in support of the resolution in favor of a declaration of war against the Kaiser's Government was the greatest delivered on that momentous occasion. It was a ringing appeal to all citizens to be Americans and Americans only, and contributed much, no doubt, to the remarkable unanimity of sentiment with which the historic contest was prosecuted by the great Republic of the western world.

I admired Senator Husting living; I revere his memory dead.

when suddenly summoned to the Chamber from their

ADDRESS OF MR. ASHURST, OF ARIZONA

Mr. President: Paul O. Husting, whose tragic and untimely death the Nation mourns, came to the Senate practically a stranger. Although possessed of strong and capacious brain, in it there had been lit no lamp of genius; he was not ambitious for fame; he was not wealthy; he had no capacity for political intrigue; he never set the stage for brilliant appearances, and yet with a service of less than two years in this Senate, where new recruits are weighed and measured by no common nor easy standard, he earned—and justly earned—an enviable distinction as a capable legislator, a stout defender of civil liberty; and when the mysterious finger of silence touched him there was felt throughout the length and breadth of our land the realization that a statesman upon whom the people could depend to advance the cause of truth and justice had passed from their national council.

The Senator who essays to take a leading part in the debates here must be prepared at any moment to stand up to his antagonists, to receive blows as well as to deliver them. It is a test which no man can escape. Senator Husting in full measure met this highest test. His method in debate was to ignore trivial annoyances, but to destroy, not merely injure and weaken, the argument of his opponent. He was planetary, not meteoric. He "scorned delights and lived laborious days." He believed that neither the bird of beautiful plumage, nor the sweet songster, nor the chattering magpie, nor yet the turtledove, but the eagle, with eye that never winks and wing that never tires, was our national emblem. He was the grim and unrelenting foe of anarchy, sabotage, syndicalism, and communism, and with audacious boldness he smote those

unclean hosts of crime and ignorance who with red banners and lying symbols assaulted the citadels of American liberty.

Though he lacked the golden romance of the warrior priest in mail

Who upon a silken palfrey went a questing for the grail, Yet the soul of modern knighthood devised him on her forge For the Eagle and the Lily and the Lion of St. George.

The world is filled with countless and interlacing filaments of influence which spread from one individual to another. No man can separate himself from the influence he leaves behind him. The voices of the dead are these influences that speak to us. The grave may close over a man; he may descend into dreamless dust; green grass and brave red roses may heal the scar made by his descent into the earth; he may sink deeper than plummet ever sounded into the airless meadows of the ocean, and leviathan may heave the billows above him, but there lives on this interlacing filament of his influence which he spread in his life.

It may be, and usually happens, that the sphere of individual action was circumscribed and meager, but his influence none the less operates.

The sun sets behind the western hills, but "by the bright track of his fiery car gives token of a goodly day to-morrow."

Senator Husting's earthly labors are over, but his career sheds an encouraging light to the struggling boys of to-morrow. Although he is now invisible to mortal eyes, such a life as his leaves behind an influence that will never die.

Many public men of large ability, industry, and true physical courage who do not shrink from extreme bodily danger frequently quail before an opposing multitude for fear, doubtless, that their suggestions may be ridiculed, their prestige injured, their pride humbled, or that they may perchance find themselves in the minority at the next ensuing election. It is unfair to characterize such men as cowards. They suffer poignant mental anguish and, like the severed flax, they fall asunder at the touch of fire. They lack an abundantly filled reservoir of moral courage, which is one of the noblest attributes that adorns the sons of men.

So, Mr. President, when we ask how came about the phenomenal rise of Paul O. Husting from obscurity; when we seek to know why his loss was so keenly felt by the American people, we recall that Bulwer-Lytton, in his Richelieu's Vindication, says:

* * * I found France rent asunder,
The rich men despots and the poor banditti;
Sloth in the mart and schism within the temple;
Brawls festering to rebellion, and weak laws
Rotting away with rust in antique sheaths.
I have re-created France; and, from the ashes
Of the old feudal and decrepit carcass,
Civilization, on her luminous wings
Soars, phænix-like, to Jove! What was my art?
"Genius," some say; some, "Fortune"; "Witchcraft," some.
Not so; my art was Justice.

The art of Paul O. Husting was courage.

Address of Mr. Gronna, of North Dakota

Mr. President: My acquaintance with Senator Husting was of short duration. I shall, therefore, not attempt to give a detailed account of his exceptional qualities which, I understand, characterized him in his early life, nor shall I attempt to portray any of the splendid achievements which he accomplished, beginning with his early entrance into political life. I am glad, however, to have the opportunity of briefly testifying to his splendid ability and high character during his service in this body. His early life's career has been beautifully portrayed by some of his more intimate and closer friends, by those who had the privilege of knowing him from his birth to his untimely death.

I had the privilege of serving with Senator Husting for only a short time in this body. I served with him on some of the committees. I served with him upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, and in the discharge of his duties as a member of that committee he demonstrated with marked ability his genuine sympathy for humanity as well as a clear vision for constructive legislation which always would result in a full measure of the greatest good to the greatest number.

Senator Husting was an able debater and a forceful speaker. He was a unique figure of the real courageous, progressive type. His trials in early life seem to have imbued him with kindness and with sympathy, and he lived and devoted his great ability to the welfare of his people.

He was a Democrat in soul and spirit as well as in name, because he was an advocate of democracy or government by the people. He was loyal to his party, but more profoundly interested in the welfare of the general public. He was of a peculiar type, symbolizing simplicity and genuineness. He bore the earmarks of an early training in State affairs, and, representing a constituency like that of Wisconsin, it was inevitable that his political tendencies should be along progressive lines.

As a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs Senator Husting took an active part in dealing with the affairs of the Indians. He held very decided views with reference to Indian property and the conservation of the natural resources on Indian lands. He was firm in his convictions that the lands, as well as the other natural resources, should be used for the benefit of the Indians; and he was much opposed to the exploitation of Indian property by the white man, and very often sharply criticized the mismanagement of Indian affairs by those who have been and are the custodians of the Indians' property.

Senator Husting had firm opinions with reference to the development of water power, both on and off Indian lands. He believed in the doctrine that the natural resources should be retained by the Government for the use of all the people rather than the exploitation of them by a few men.

Although a new Member of the United States Senate, he was recognized as a man of ability and character. During the short time he served in the Senate he won for himself an enviable record, and he had the confidence of all who learned to know him. I believe I can truthfully say that he had the confidence of the entire membership of this body. He was held in high esteem by all those who knew him best.

I might go on and amplify on the character, the virtues, and the courage of Paul O. Husting, but it is not necessary. The history of this man, the story of his life, of his devotion to his duties to his country, of love and devotion

to his family, will remain as the most lasting monument to his memory.

Mr. President, his untimely death was a shock to the membership of this body, to the people of the great State of Wisconsin, and to the entire country.

In company with other Senators, I attended the funeral of Senator Husting. Naturally, it was a most sad event, due to his tragic and untimely death. The bereavement to his aged parents, to his brothers, sisters, and other numerous friends seemed almost unbearable; but in those clouds of sorrow there was a rift manifesting brightness and comfort; back of those clouds could be seen the beautiful life of PAUL O. HUSTING, and although his body was now to be consigned to the grave his soul was still living; the character of his beautiful life was visible upon the horizon; his friends and those who loved him most could see before them the sympathetic heart, his high character, and the virtues of his life, so that in death as in life the noble spirit of his own soul, his sympathy, his deeds, and his life work seemed now, like it always had, the real hope of solace and relief.

ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS, OF COLORADO

Mr. President: Paul O. Husting, born in 1866, clerk, laborer, lawyer, State attorney, State senator, and Senator of the United States, died in 1917 at the vigorous age of 51 years. Such in brief epitome is the career of a typical self-made American; of a man born under American institutions, early perceiving the opportunities they made possible to all able to take advantage of and to improve them; and crowding into a busy life, like a well-staged drama, a series of successes crowned with the attainment of a seat in this exalted body bestowed by a constituency whose political majorities had been almost uniformly adverse to the fortunes of the political party to which he belonged. Here, surely, is an answer to the discontent and criticism which proclaims that America is no longer a land of preferment, and that the door of opportunity has been shut in the faces of the poor and deserving. Here, surely, is full illustration of the great truth that under the shield of the great Republic the race is still to the man of resolution, of character, and of effort; that merit will win its rewards and moral courage its victories; that our people appreciate self-effort and make tribute to private integrity and political virtue. For this young man, the descendant of emigrants seeking fairer skies and better lands and freer governments, born in obscurity, reared in poverty, and circumscribed by their limitations, slowly, painfully but surely met difficulty and surmounted it, encountered obstacles and overcame them, measured his lance with adversities and overthrew them. Undaunted by a forbidding environment and undiscouraged by the keen rivalries of a

competing world, he made a fulcrum for the lever of his purpose and lifted all hindrances impeding his pathway until his people, perceiving his worth and proud of his successes, commissioned him to vote and speak for them in the Capitol of the Nation.

Here the Senator's career, though tragically brief, fully vindicated their confidence and affection. He was transparently, obstinately honest, and never hesitated to speak and act upon his convictions. They may have been and, I think, sometimes were erratic, but they were his own, and right manfully he maintained them.

He came to this forum in the midst of a great European war which we were with difficulty seeking to avoid, while the struggle of the combatants was constantly interfering with, sometimes infringing upon, our rights or our natural interests. Sentiment was divided between the contending belligerents, and Senator Husting, representing a composite population, was more than once appealed to by some of his constituency to utilize the opportunities of his great office in behalf of one of the combatants. This he refused to do. But he was not content with refusal. From his seat he gave the great public the details of one of these appeals, demonstrated its conceited nature, exposed its origin and purpose, and proclaimed his devotion to America over all, to the land of his birth, to his country against the world. His voice was as that of one speaking with authority, his words the purifier of an atmosphere then altogether overcharged with hesitancy, with timidity, and with a spineless pendulosity characteristic of men in high position more concerned with retaining their seats than with proclaiming their convictions. Had Senator HUSTING done nothing more than this while a Member of the Senate he would have done enough and more to vindicate the wisdom of the State of Wisconsin in choosing him as one of its delegates to the National Capital.

One beautiful morning in October, 1917, by the Pacific seaside at Miramar, in California, slowly recovering from a serious malady, I saw in the headlines of a San Francisco paper that Senator Husting had been accidentally shot and killed the day before. I read the details, which shocked me beyond expression. When I left Washington during the previous July, uncertain whether I should ever return, I thought of many of my associates, wondering, perchance, if some of them who had reached their threescore and ten would be here to welcome me should I by good fortune recover and resume my public duties. I gave not even a passing thought to the young and stalwart ones like the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who seemed immune from the vicissitudes of life and death. Yet he was the first to go; not only that, but, save Senator Newlands, the only face I missed in this Chamber when in January I resumed my seat. And only then did I learn all the details of his tragic fate. It is not too much to say that, coming at the time, his death was a national calamity.

Had his career been uninterrupted we know what it would have been by the features revealed in its unfinished proportions. Like the broken fragment of a Grecian statue, it suggests to the eye a vision of the genius which designed it and to the heart a sense of what the world lost when the exquisite figure was broken into fragments.

ADDRESS OF MR. LENROOT, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President. In the roll of names of men who have occupied seats in this Chamber will be found great patriots and statesmen who will always live in the history of this Republic. Great crises have always produced great characters, and when the history of this world war shall be finally written the name of Paul Husting will always receive honorable mention.

Wisconsin is normally a Republican State by from fifty to one hundred thousand majority, but in 1914 PAUL HUST-ING, a Democrat, was elected to a seat in this body. He had made an enviable record in the State senate in championing progressive legislation. He was a hard worker and an able debater there, and his experience thus gained was of great value to him in his work here. In this larger field he had the same aims and purposes as he had in State matters, and he was early recognized as a staunch supporter of progressive legislation here. One of his assignments was the Committee on Public Lands, and he took a deep interest in all legislation concerning our natural resources. Upon two great measures, which have been before Congress for many years and are still pending—the mineral leasing and water-power bills—he did a tremendous amount of work and took a very active part in the debate upon them in the Senate. He was rapidly making a national reputation in these matters, but it was in the events leading up to and following our entry into the war that he rose to his true greatness. Most of his colleagues from Wisconsin differed with him in these matters. It seemed at one time as if the people of Wisconsin differed with him, but with deep conviction as to the right course to pursue he unhesitatingly and unfalteringly fol-

lowed it. He would not condemn his colleagues who differed with him; he assumed that they were conscientious in their position as he was in his. He chose rather to argue the strength of his own position than denounce those who did not agree with him. This is illustrated by an incident shortly before our declaration of war was made. A great loyalty meeting was to be held in the city of Milwaukee. He and I had been invited to address that meeting. We discussed the matter and agreed that we would attend upon condition that it be an occasion for affirmatively demonstrating the loyalty of Wisconsin but not for denouncing our colleagues who differed with us. We both accepted the invitation upon this condition, and an audience of 7,500 as patriotic citizens as ever breathed the air of freedom cheered Senator Husting and the other speakers to the echo, and he then made one of the truly great speeches of our time. Senator Husting lived in a county which before our declaration of war was largely pro-German in its sympathies. For a time many of his closest friends differed with him, but none failed to respect him, and, although he lived but a few months after our entrance into the war, at the time of his death he knew not only that he was right but also had the support of an overwhelming majority of the people of the State.

Mr. President, courage is not a very rare thing, ability is not a very rare thing, vision is not a very rare thing, but it is not often that we find all these qualities combined in one man as they were in Senator Husting. He had the courage, he had the ability, he had the vision, and for it the country will forever be grateful. Speaking upon the war resolution, he said:

Vital matters and principles that every true American holds dear are involved in the consideration of this resolution. Our honor, our rights, the lives of our citizens, our national safety, our sovereignty, yes, democracy itself is at stake. The perpetu-

ation of this country and its institutions is the most important thing in the world to us, to the people of the whole world, and to posterity. Our Government is an experiment destined to prove whether or not men are capable of self-government. The permanent success of this experiment means the eventual emancipation of all mankind; its failure spells the doom of freedom everywhere.

Senator Husting was a Democrat, but Republicans of Wisconsin forgot that and thought of him only as an American. The entire State mourned over his death. His friends were of every party and every creed. His sterling patriotism, in a most critical hour of our Republic, will long be remembered. In his death the State of Wisconsin, this body, and the country suffered a loss which can not be measured. He was one of the Nation's great men.

Mr. Watson. Mr. President, in accordance with arrangements heretofore made, I now move that, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator and Representatives, the Senate take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m., Sunday, March 2) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Monday, March 3, 1919, at 10 o'clock a. m.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 3, 1917.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

And that, in compliance of the foregoing resolution, the Vice President had appointed as said committee Mr. Martin and Mr. Gallinger.

Also the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

Also the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. Paul O. Husting, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Monday, February 3, 1919.

Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker-

The Speaker. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin. I move that Sunday, February 23, be set aside as a day for the delivery of addresses on the life, character, and public services of the late Senator Paul Husting, of Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that Sunday, February 23, 1919, be set apart for eulogies on Senator Husting. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

FRIDAY, February 21, 1919.

The SPEAKER. Before beginning that the Chair designates the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Sherley] to preside next Sunday, and when they come to eulogies on the Senator from Wisconsin the Chair will ask the gentleman from Kentucky to invite Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin to preside, and when they come to the Senator from New Jersey to invite Mr. Eagan to preside.

Mr. Mann. Is next Sunday set aside for eulogies?

The Speaker. Next Sunday is set aside for eulogies upon three.

Sunday, February 23, 1919.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. and was called to order by Mr. Sherley as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Great Father Soul, in whom we live and move and have our being, we bless Thee for the deep moral and spiritual excellence resident in the heart of man, which moves him to deeds of self-sacrifice in behalf of others, liberty, truth, right, justice, which excite in his fellows admiration, gratitude, praise.

We are here to-day in memory of three men who died in the harness, striving for the betterment of the American citizen, as Senators of the National Congress. Long may their works live in the heart of the true American to inspire those who shall come after them, that the American institutions may live an ensample to all mankind.

Comfort, we beseech Thee, all to whom they were nearest and dearest, by the angels of faith, hope, love, in the overruling providence of the living God, who hath decreed that life is stronger than death and love shall never die.

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me."

"In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."

Amen.

Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin took the chair as Speaker protempore.

The Speaker pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin, by unanimous consent, Ordered, That Sunday, February 23, 1919, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. Paul O. Husting, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

The Clerk read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. Paul O. Husting, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Voigt, of Wisconsin

Mr. Speaker: We are gathered here to-day to pay tribute to the memory of one who rose from humble beginnings to the high place of a United States Senator, Paul O. Husting. Although Senator Husting was a resident of my district, it was my misfortune not to have had an intimate acquaintance with him, and I therefore can not speak of him with the same authority as my colleagues present here, who knew him long and well. I must speak of Senator Husting more as one who draws his information from a book which is open to everyone rather than one who gets it from close personal contact and friendship.

The one leading thought which forces itself upon me when I contemplate Senator Husting's career is that in this great and glorious Republic a man may achieve practically anything he aspires to if he is willing to pay the price in preparation and perseverance. He may step from the hovel to the palace, from the plow to the Presidency. We do not ask who were his ancestors, or whether blue blood flows in his veins; we make no artificial distinctions. There are but two qualifications that we recognize—ability and character.

Senator Husting was a self-made man. He was born at Fond du Lac, Wis., on April 25, 1866, and on his mother's side was a grandson of Solomon Juneau, founder of the city of Milwaukee and one of the romantic figures of Wisconsin. He was denied the advantages of a college or even a high-school education. At 16 years of age we

find him working as clerk in a general store at Mayville, Wis., which place was to become his permanent home. He became in turn assistant postmaster, railway mail clerk, and clerk in the office of the secretary of state. All these positions gave him an education in the great school of experience. He studied law in the office of a brother-in-law and also attended the university law school a short period. To illustrate his perseverance, let me quote what he is reported to have said of his early career:

I had only one book—a law dictionary—and little money. I could not make the headway I wanted this way, so I returned to Mayville. My brother-in-law, C. W. Lamereux, and Frank Lawrence were law partners. I told them I would collect accounts and bills due if they would allow me to study in their law library. At the end of a year—I still had but the one book—Lamereux and myself entered into a partnership which continued for 14 years—until he was elected a judge.

In 1902 and 1904 the Senator was elected district attorney of his home county. In 1906 he was elected State senator and reelected in 1910. He rose to prominence in the legislature almost immediately. He stood for the rights of the people and won fame in advocating and fighting for legislation for the preservation of the State's natural resources, income-tax legislation, and other measures of vital interest. It was only natural that with his ability and gift for leadership his party should single him out for its highest honors, and accordingly the Democrats in 1914 nominated him for United States Senator to succeed the late Isaac Stephenson. Although Wisconsin is ordinarily a safe Republican State, after a spirited contest Senator Husting was elected by a narrow margin.

The Senator was a man of the people in every sense of the word. He was entirely free from affectation. Indeed, to his democratic manners he owed much of his success. Anyone could approach him, and he met the man in overalls with the same cordiality as those of wealth and fame. He possessed that absolute simplicity which is always the accompaniment of true greatness.

Senator Husting had a fondness for outdoor life. His friends tell me that he was never so happy as when he could disconnect himself from the toils and troubles of the world and with a few chosen friends could go on a hunting or fishing trip. His passion for life in the open cost him his life, as he met with a fatal accident on October 21, 1917, while on a hunting expedition. Not only the State of Wisconsin but the whole Nation was shocked to hear of the Senator's tragic death. The funeral in his home city of Mayville was participated in by practically every man, woman, and child, and there were men from all parts of the State and beyond to show their affection and respect.

The career of Senator Husting should be an inspiration to every American boy, and especially a poor boy. It proves that in this country a young man may attain fame and fortune if he will apply himself. There are no barriers which can not be overcome by reasonable intelligence and grit. May his example inspire others, and may the opportunities for achievement always remain open to the young men of the country as they were open to and seized upon by our deceased Senator.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the proceedings of this day a eulogy delivered by Circuit Judge Martin Lueck, of Wisconsin, at the funeral of Senator Husting.

The Speaker pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to print in the proceedings the eulogy delivered by Judge Lueck. Is there objection? There was no objection.

The eulogy is as follows:

EULOGY DELIVERED BY CIRCUIT JUDGE MARTIN L. LUECK, OF WIS-CONSIN, AT THE FUNERAL OF SENATOR HUSTING AT MAYVILLE, WIS., OCTOBER 24, 1917.

The grim reaper never gathers in anyone, no matter what may be his age or condition, without leaving behind some relative or friend to lament his departure, but the feelings aroused by death are as varied as the circumstances under which it occurs. When a person dies after mortal illness has long preyed upon his vitals, death is regarded as an angel of mercy, a friendly hand that leads from this valley of shadows and tears to the blessings of an everlasting abiding place. If it be one whose whitened locks, dimmed eyes, and stiffened joints inform us that his "race is run," we are prepared for his death; his departure is accepted as the natural consummation of his earthly career; and if he has "fought a good fight and kept the faith" the sorrows of the parting are mingled with the joys of victory achieved and duty finished. When the summons comes to the child before the duties of life begin, we console ourselves with the reflection that pain, suffering, sorrow, and labor have been spared it. But in the sudden call of the Master to a man in the prime of life, in the very morning of usefulness, with what seems to be a bright and beckoning future, full of reward, with unsatisfied desires and opportunities for service, nothing but a faith unquestioned and profound can find anything to dry the tears or relieve the suffering. The visitation of death to one in the roseate hours of hope and promise passes our understanding, disappoints our fondest expectations, and shocks our most loving hopes. However, inquiry as to why cherished ties are thus sundered is useless, because it is not for us to say when the proper time has come to die. It is but an example of the uncertainty of life, and reminds us that-

"Death takes us unawares
And stays our hurrying feet,
The great design unfinished lies,
Our lives are incomplete."

We have gathered here, filled with emotions of sadness, to pay our last tributes of love and respect to one whose tragic end has covered an entire community, a whole State, with gloom, shocked

this great Nation, and brought forth spontaneous and widespread expressions of deep sorrow and regret at his untimely death. The sad privilege has come to me of giving public utterance to the sentiments of sorrow, affection, and esteem that throb in the hearts of myriads of friends and admirers of Senator PAUL O. HUSTING in this sad hour. But what shall I say? What can I say? How can language which, at its best and when skillfully employed is but an imperfect instrument for the conveyance of thought, describe with any degree of accuracy the emotions that overwhelm us? I was stunned by the unexpected news of his quick response to the swift messenger that bore him the summons to quit this earthly existence, and have been unable to calm myself. When I was first told of his death my reply was the common one: "It can not be; it can not be." His rugged nature, his buoyant spirit, everything, pointed to a long, useful, and successful career. Even now it all seems too impossible to be true. But this coffin, as it holds the cold and lifeless form of him who once was all life and action, loving his family and adored by them, honored by hosts of admirers and friends, reminds us that he, too, had to bow to the Divine decree; and although it leaves the bitterest cup of grief for the father and mother, the sister and brothers, universal experience is again confirmed that death has no season and no time.

"Leaves have their time to fall,
And flowers to wither at the north wind's breath,
And stars to set; but all,
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death!"

Senator Husting was my friend; he was the friend of thousands in this county and of multitudes in the State and Nation. An acquaintance formed between us in early life soon ripened into a friendship which continued uninterruptedly and unbroken to the day of his death. It is not a part of my purpose to speak of any of the incidents of that long period that was very dear to me. His whole life as it was thus unfolded bears witness to the fact that he possessed in a marked degree those sterling qualities that gathered men around him. His friendships were warm and strong. He clung to his friends with tenacity, was faithful to them, and attracted strong friendships to himself. There was in his nature so much of deep and true loyalty, so much of fidelity to the advancement of his friends that this is perhaps one of the

most beautiful phases of his life. Next to his family, his friends will miss him most. In his death I feel I have experienced a keen personal loss, and I join with the hosts who enjoyed his friendship in the full chorus of respect and affection for him:

"Friends are in life's exchange the sterling coin, True tender for all the rarest forms of joy; The only pauper is the friendless man."

Perhaps a brief reference to his career as a lawyer might not be entirely out of place. He was generally recognized to be a very able lawyer. In the court room, in the trial of cases, he had few superiors. Lawyers who had to appear against him always knew that they had to deal with a formidable opponent. His mind was clear, active, and decisive. A splendid judge of human nature, he was quick to discern the probable effect of every point as it arose upon the trial, and with almost unerring judgment and prompt decision he met it so as to best serve the interests of his client. In his arguments he was direct, earnest, fearless, and convincing. Through him no client ever suffered for want of proper presentation of a case.

PAUL O. HUSTING had received many honors at the hands of the people among whom he lived and among whom he died, and he never occupied a public position that was not deserved and in which he did not reflect credit upon himself. With all his honors he never assumed to elevate himself above the general level of the community of which he was a part. He always associated with all classes and was proud to keep himself constantly enrolled as one of the plain people, as one of the great rank and file. He had a kind and generous heart and was always willing to divide with others and respond to the appeals of those less fortunate. He had that charity which assisted the needy and overlooked the faults of others. But with these kindly qualities there were combined the other more rugged characteristics of determination, self-control, and firmness, which he possessed to a marked extent and which were the predominant elements of his character.

He was always fair, with a mind open to reason, but when once convinced upon any subject he became firm as adamant. He had convictions upon all important questions and was ready to defend them against all adversaries in all places and upon all occasions without regard to the effect upon his personal fortunes.

He was governed solely by his convictions, knew no fear, and never turned aside from the path of right or duty as he was given the light to see it. In all of his many contests, whether in the court room, before the people, or upon the floor of the senate of this State or in the United States Senate, he was an open, fair but fearless fighter, and in prosecuting his cause never resorted to subterfuge or deceitful tactics.

It can truly be said of the departed that his life fairly illustrates the great possibilities of the American youth in this country of free institutions and equal opportunities. Starting without the aid of fortune, without any early advantages except such as are enjoyed by boys with parents in ordinary circumstances, but with a resolute and resistless spirit, he forged ahead from the beginning and by force of his own ability and industry reached a high plane among his fellow men, occupying at the time of his death a public position second only to that of President of this great Republic. How eloquently that argues for free America and its institutions. What an example, what an inspiration, it is to every American boy. His whole life, private and public, his entire career, and all the elements of his character combined to make him what he proved himself to be from the time he represented the great State of Wisconsin in the United States Senate, namely, a true American citizen, an American statesman, and above all an American patriot.

He could not be otherwise than the most loyal citizen because he sincerely loved his country, had an abiding faith in its mission, and a deep sympathy with its institutions. He was a statesman not only because he brought a high order of ability and talent to the discharge of his duties as Senator but because he took a broad view of questions and treated a public office not as an instrument for his own aggrandizement but as a means through which he might serve his country and contribute in some degree to the well-being of his fellow citizens. His patriotism was of the kind that was willing to make sacrifices for the country he loved.

In the present crisis that hovers over the Nation, the gravest since the Civil War, Senator Husting, patriot and statesman, adhered with unwearied perseverance to the course that his convictions assured him would best safeguard the liberties and institutions of this Republic. Tried by the severest tests, he was never found wanting, and was to the last a steadfast and fearless advo-

cate of a united America, the outspoken champion of a country unified in sentiment, united in purpose, and undivided in everything essential to intensity of action. His clarion call for unity, delivered in the Senate on the 4th day of April, will live to inspire the generations that are yet to come.

"Let us all," he said, "stand together, united in spirit, purpose, and determination, and let us rise to meet the issue with the same faith, courage, devotion, and resolution that have sustained, inspired, and distinguished the American people always."

In the midst of his greatest usefulness, at a time when he could not well be spared, death called him. To his country the loss is almost irreparable, and in the affection of the people a void is left that can not be filled.

It can truthfully be said of Senator Husting that his home life, as well as his private career and public activities, was ideal. He died with the words on his lips that characterized his whole existence, "I did the best I knew how." A good and useful life actuated by noble purpose. No man can do better.

ADDRESS OF MR. ESCH, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker: Wisconsin has been called upon to mourn during this Congress the loss of two of her distinguished sons. Last Sunday we eulogized the life and character and public services of our late colleague, James H. Davidson. To-day we eulogize the life, character, and public services of the late Senator Paul Oscar Husting. In the death of these two distinguished men our State has suffered a distinct loss. So far as their public services are concerned, the Nation has likewise met with a distinct loss.

Senator Husting did not have a long service in the Senate of the United States, due to his untimely death, caused by being accidentally shot by a brother while on a hunting trip on October 21, 1917. There was no relief immediately at hand. The heartbroken brother got the wounded Senator to a near-by farmhouse as rapidly as possible and summoned medical aid, but upon its arrival it was found that death was inevitable.

The Senator knew that his end was near. He did not lose consciousness, but calmly discussed his impending fate, giving directions as to his funeral, insisting that it should be as simple as possible and be held as quickly as possible on account of his mother.

Thus ended the career of Senator Husting. His life began in humble surroundings, as my colleague, Mr. Voigt, has already stated. He had few advantages, but toiled on and got an education in the hard school of experience. His labors as a clerk, as a railway mail clerk, as a clerk in the secretary of state's office, all served as stepping-stones to attain his ambition to become a lawyer.

It was while he was acting as a clerk in the secretary of state's office at Madison that he took a course of reading

in law and fitted himself for the bar examination. He was admitted to practice law in 1895. He had little to begin with, no means with which to purchase a library, but he had that which was invaluable to the success of a lawyer determination and a purpose to win. His career at the bar was eminently successful. As district attorney for Dodge County for two terms he gave to that office a splendid administration. His success commended him to the favorable consideration of the people of that county when they sought a candidate for the State senate. He was triumphantly elected and held that office for a period of eight years. I shall not speak of his experience as a State senator. My colleague, Mr. Browne, who was associated with him in the State senate, will give that in detail. Suffice it to say that while he was a State senator he was known as a Progressive Democrat and became the leader of that faction in the State legislature. He was actuated by a desire to conserve the natural resources of our State, and to that end fathered water-power legislation. He was also interested in the income tax, in the popular election of United States Senators, and in the initiative and referendum, and in other matters affecting the interests of our people. His career as a State senator was a successful career, and when in 1914 it became necessary to elect a successor to Senator Stephenson he became the candidate of the Democratic Party for that high office. His opponent was ex-Gov. Francis E. Mc-Govern, whom he defeated by a bare 1,000 majority. Coming to the United States Senate, in this larger forum he was actuated by the same high motives that actuated him while in the State senate. Here he sought to incorporate in our national laws his views as to the conservation of our natural resources. It was here that he made some of his most effective speeches in connection with water-power bills, in connection with the coal and oil

leasing bills. These measures were close to his heart, and he gave to their consideration the utmost that was in him.

In April, 1916, the English steamer Sussex was sunk by a German submarine in the English Channel. President Wilson sent a note of warning to the German Government to the effect that the United States could not further tolerate such action on the part of Germany. Thousands of people in the United States feared that this note of warning to Germany might lead to ultimate war, and thousands of telegrams were showered upon Members of Congress, and many letters were sent. Senator Husting rose in the Senate and declared that the telegrams were evidently the result of a propaganda, and called attention to the similarity of the language used in the telegrams, and later asked that there should be an investigation to determine the source of the funds back of the propaganda.

His bold attitude in this connection made him a national figure and marked the beginning of his strong and consistent support of America as against propaganda of any class, sect, or creed which sought to weaken the hands of the Government. In maintaining this attitude he knew that he was running counter to the views of thousands of citizens of Wisconsin and of the United States, and he received much criticism. But it was characteristic of the man that notwithstanding this criticism he held to his course until death took him from the scene of his activities.

Upon his death there were many messages of condolence received from people, high and low, from all parts of the United States. Among these was a message sent to the Senator's mother by President Wilson, as follows:

Your son's death has come to me as a great personal grief. He was one of the most conscientious public servants I have ever known and had entered upon a career of usefulness to his State and to the country which was of the highest promise. I grieve with you with all my heart.

His sudden death was a great shock to the people of our State, for we had come to know him as a man of ability and of fearless conduct and as one who, having convictions, never hesitated to express or defend them. He was in that respect more of the patriot than of the politician. He did not consider the consequence of either word or act. Once reaching a conclusion, he abided by it to the end.

There are many admirable traits of character in the life of Senator Husting worthy of our emulation. It can be truthfully said of him as was said by the great author—

To thine ownself be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man.

He was a good lawyer, keen and alert, and made the He had a keen perception to find the most of his case. weak spots in an opponent's case. He was strong before a jury in appeal and was clear in argument of law propositions before the court. He was a man who was generous by disposition, open-hearted, and frank. The wants of the needy appealed to him, and he sought to meet these wants to the extent of his ability. Those who knew him intimately had implicit confidence in him, and he never betrayed that confidence. The friends he had were bound to him by bands of steel. His outspoken word, his frankness, may have aroused enemies, but he did not desist from his plan or purpose, once determined upon. When he was shot and knew that the end was near his last words were, "I did the best I knew how," and those who knew him will believe that to be true. He did the best he knew how; and if all of us would do the same this would be a better world. In thus paying our tribute of respect to a distinguished man we are doing but justice to ourselves. Wisconsin and the Nation mourns the loss of Senator Paul O. Husting.

ADDRESS OF MR. BROWNE, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker: Congress has convened this Sunday morning to commemorate the memory of Senator Paul O. Husting, of Wisconsin.

Few United States Senators have ever attained a higher place in the Senate or entered upon a public career that gave more promise than Senator Paul Husting in his two years in the United States Senate.

I had the good fortune to become acquainted with Senator Husting in the year 1906, when we both entered the State senate of Wisconsin. I served in that body with Senator Husting for over six years and loved and highly respected him. Senator Husting was a Democrat and I a Republican, yet in State matters we frequently conferred and in a majority of cases supported the same measures.

It is interesting to review in some detail the lives and antecedents of those public men who show such splendid traits of character and such marked talents as Senator HUSTING.

PAUL O. HUSTING was born in 1866 at Fond du Lac, Wis. He was the son of John P. Husting and Mary M. Husting (nee Juneau), the latter being one of the 16 children of Solomon Juneau.

In the city of Milwaukee, overlooking Lake Michigan, stands the figure of a man fashioned in bronze. This heroic statue, that attracts the notice of the passer-by, is that of the rugged old pioneer, Solomon Juneau, the first white settler and founder of the city of Milwaukee, in 1814.

Leaving his home in the valley of the St. Lawrence at the age of 21, Solomon Juneau took to his canoe and singing the songs of the Voyageurs followed the course of Father Pere Marquette by river and land through the trackless forests and unchartered waters of Wisconsin, making his way to Green Bay, from thence farther south to Lake Michigan, where he founded the city of Milwaukee.

I will not digress further, only to say that Solomon Juneau, the grandfather of Senator Husting, was a man of sterling character, revered and loved by all who knew him, including the various tribes of Indians, who called him "Friend Solomon" and who advised and counseled with him.

He was a philanthropist and gave churches, public buildings, parks, and the first courthouse to the city of Milwaukee. He represented the Government in many of its negotiations with the Indians, and his accomplishments along these lines alone would perpetuate his memory. He lived to see Milwaukee a flourishing city and was its first mayor.

Paul O. Husting finished the public schools of Wisconsin at the age of 17. He became clerk in a general store, railway postal clerk, and bookkeeper in the office of the secretary of state. He attended the law school of the University of Wisconsin, passed the State bar examination, and began the practice of law in his home city in 1895; was elected district attorney in 1902, which office he held until he was elected to the State senate in 1906. He was recognized by the judges and bar of Wisconsin as a well-read and very successful lawyer, who carefully prepared his cases, as well as a strong advocate, who could present his case in a forceful, logical way to a court or jury.

His direct, incisive style of argument, his use of the homely, trite phrases of the common people, made him popular with juries and in demand as a campaign speaker.

Senator Husting was a student, a great reader, with an accurate and retentive memory. When he entered the State senate he soon became prominent throughout the State as one of the leaders of that body.

During the period Senator Husting was in the State senate and largely through his aggressive championship Wisconsin wrote more progressive legislation in the statute books than in any like period of time in the history of the State. Most of this legislation has stood the test of the highest courts and remains on the statute books of Wisconsin to-day as it was first written. Among the important acts of legislation which will always be associated with Senator Paul O. Husting are laws conserving the natural resources of the State, State income tax, initiative and referendum, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, workmen's compensation laws, laws protecting woman and child labor, 2-cent railroad-rate fare law, and the corrupt practices act.

Senator Husting took his seat in the United States Senate in 1914, being the first Senator from Wisconsin to be elected to the United States Senate by popular vote. Wisconsin is a strong Republican State, and at the time Senator Husting was elected to the Senate no other Democrat on the ticket was elected, which attests the popularity and high regard in which Senator Husting was held by the people of his native State. Senator Husting is one of the six Democrats that the people of Wisconsin have honored by electing to the United States Senate in the history of the State.

Entering the United States Senate a few months before the beginning of the European war, Senator Husting did not go through the probationary period which has almost become traditional in that dignified body, but at once took an active part in the important legislation pending before the Senate. His speeches on the conservation of our water powers and other natural resources, his speeches on the first revenue bill, and his ringing patriotic speeches in support of the President in all legislation leading up to and after war was declared gave him a high standing with his colleagues in the Senate.

He knew when he voted in favor of the declaration of war that he would antagonize many of his lifelong friends and political supporters, yet this did not swerve him in the least from doing what he believed to be his duty. Senator Husting's speeches on war measures were quoted and commented favorably upon by the press of the country and brought him into national prominence.

The splendid career of Senator Paul O. Husting came to a sudden end October 21, 1917, by an unavoidable accident. While hunting he was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of one of his companions.

In the death of Senator Paul O. Husting the State of Wisconsin lost a courageous, manly son and the United States Senate a talented, fearless legislator.

In the brief time allotted me I have only touched on a few of the many interesting events in the remarkable life of Senator Husting.

He was domestic in his tastes and made the parental home his abiding place, and the hearthstone ties were as endearing and bound him as closely when he reached manhood's estate as when he was a little child. His mother, father, brothers, and sisters idolized him, and he found it the greatest pleasure of his life to be with them.

When he was elected to the United States Senate he purchased a home in Washington, where he lived surrounded by members of his family.

PAUL HUSTING, as he was known by his friends, was a man of the highest ideals, who possessed as great and as splendid a type of courage as any man I have ever met. At all times and on all occasions and on all questions Paul Husting had the courage of his convictions. He was an original thinker and possessed a strong, logical mind. He respected precedent and authority, but if it did not square with his conscience and stand the test of his logic he rejected it. He was not afraid to advocate ideas that were new nor to stand for or prevent the discarding of ideas that were old, no matter if he stood alone and was opposed by an array of talent that impressed upon others absolute infallibility.

Senator Husting always had the self-confidence and courage to champion the thing he believed to be right. I once heard him quote after a fight in the legislature when he and his friends were outvoted these words from Lincoln:

"I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he is wrong."

When Gen. Grant lay upon his deathbed a friend asked him what, in these final and suffering days as he looked back over his career, brought the greatest satisfaction to his mind. The friend may have expected the old commander to mention something he had done—his plan for the capture of Vicksburg, his scheme for reducing Richmond, his plea for the purely secular conduct of the public schools—but the reply went deeper; and any one deed but the lifelong purpose now sustained him, and he said: "I take chief pleasure in the fact that I have always had the will to do my duty."

PAUL HUSTING took pleasure in the fact that he always had the will to do his duty. He was a man such as the poet describes in these lines:

His life was gentle, and the elements So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up And say to all the world, "This was a man!" Mr. Esch. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members desiring to do so may be permitted to print in the Record remarks on the life, character, and public services of Senator Husting.

The Speaker pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that Members be permitted to extend in the Record remarks on the life, character, and public services of the late Senator Husting. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Speaker pro tempore. In accordance with the order heretofore entered, the Chair declares the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 a.m.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 24, 1919, at 11 o' clock a. m.